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Between Book Ends *Senator McCarthy's Views on Foreign Policy*

THE LIMITS OF POWER by Eugene J. McCarthy (Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 246 pgs., \$5.95)

In this meaty, cogent, concise book, Senator McCarthy of Minnesota briefly reviews our foreign policy since World War II and suggests revisions. His principal thesis is that this country should stop acting as planetary policeman and accept a more limited, realistic and responsible role in world affairs. None of his suggestions is revolutionary or startling; the book's chief value lies in its overall appraisal of American foreign policy and alternative courses. The Senator's style is crisp and the material is well documented.

He shows how the United States has moved from Washington's isolationism which rejected world responsibility to an equally isolated position in which we assume responsibility for the entire world. In sending troops to Lebanon in 1958 President Eisenhower initiated the policy of "intervention by request" in foreign internal affairs. The qualification "by request" has since been "stretched," as it was when we feared a Communist take-over in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

This attempt to thwart the threat of aggression wherever it may crop up has spread American troops around the globe. McCarthy believes that we should "seek with other nations a broader and more realistic distribution of responsibility for this world."

Such a distribution of responsibility does not, however, imply that we simply pass the ammunition. In fact, noting the inertia which maintains a program beyond its usefulness, the Senator condemns the military assistance program, which although initially designed to arm friendly allies, has led us into the malodorous role of chief munitions supplier of the world. The same inertia fed the CIA, formed under Truman as an intelligence arm of the President, until it developed into a gargantuan agency, unlimited, uncontrolled, and unduly involved in foreign policy and even domestic propaganda. He believes that CIA activities should be subject to congressional supervision.

Both our position as arms supplier and the "Topsy"-like growth of the CIA resulted from our previous amorphous and undirected policy. McCarthy believes it is now time to take stock, reassess our strengths and weaknesses, establish standards and set precedents which will guide our future policy.

He briefly outlines our movement in Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine (1823) through F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Policy (1933) to the OAS (1948). Up to this point we supported the status quo (except in 1903 when it was to our interest to open up the Panama Canal) through the principle of non-intervention. In 1961 with the Alliance for Progress, we sought to change feudalistic landholding patterns, reduce poverty and

social injustice and improve education. But since 1965 we've returned to an emphasis on stability.

McCarthy advocates a Latin American policy which attacks the basic economic problem through trade policy revisions.

He recommends that we permit and encourage the UN to settle the Vietnamese war, or, alternatively, adopt Gen. Gavin's enclave policy. At the same time, we should try to negotiate with the National Liberation Front in the hope of achieving a settlement with Hanoi.

The Senator believes that China, because of her monumental internal problems is not a threat to the U.S. He believes that her foreign policy is nationalistic rather than Communist. It is essential to her that she be recognized as a world power. China is also anxious to eliminate U. S. military power and, if possible, U. S. influence from the Asian mainland.

Senator McCarthy disagrees with the argument that China is seeking world conquest. He thinks that if we avoid threatening Chinese sovereignty on the Asian mainland we will avoid collision with China in the future. To this end he thinks U. S. foreign policy should be working to reduce or liquidate our Asian commitments.

Whether or not the reader agrees with McCarthy's views, he will have the pleasure of seeing the issues presented clearly. *Jeanne Miller*